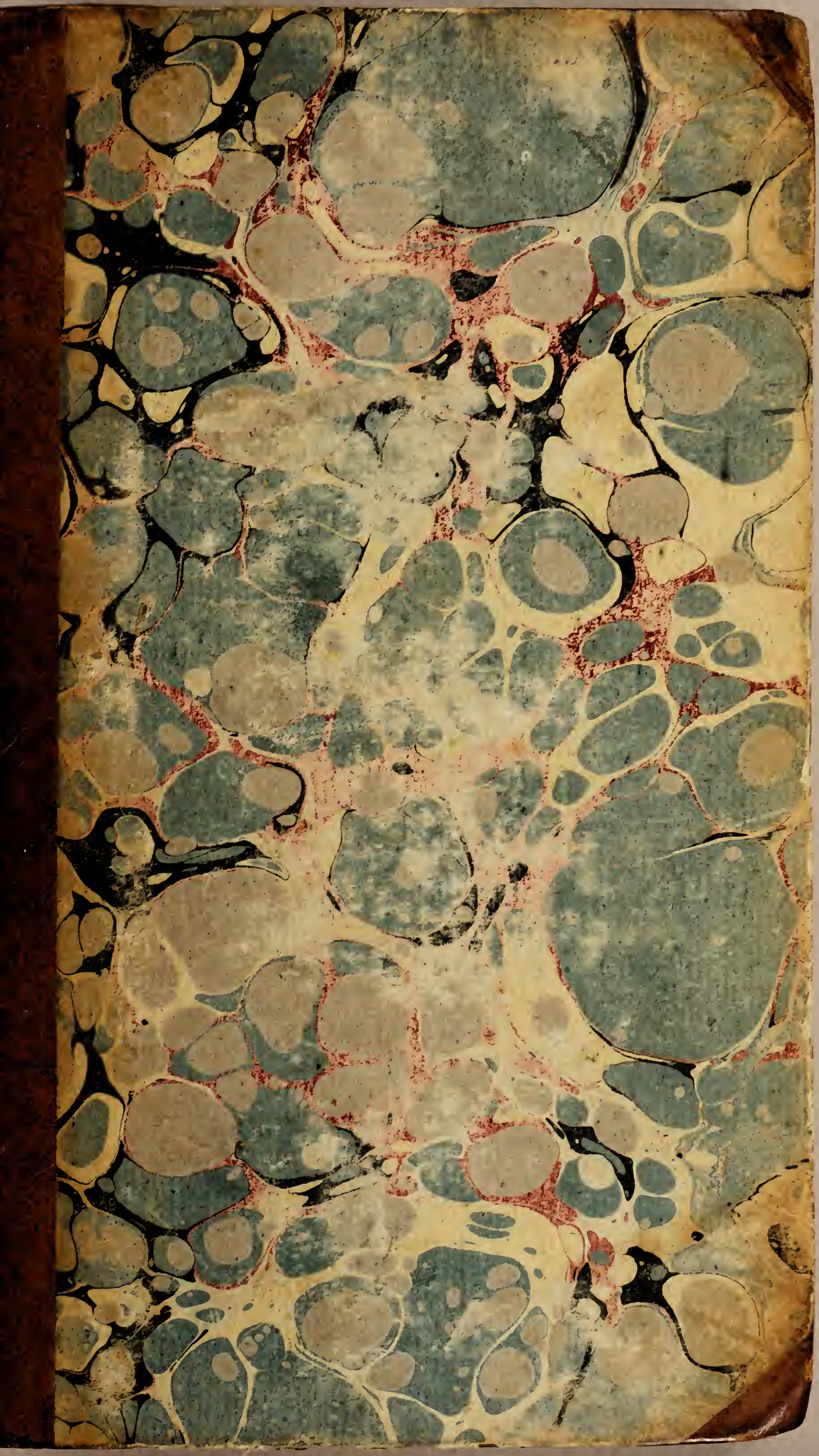

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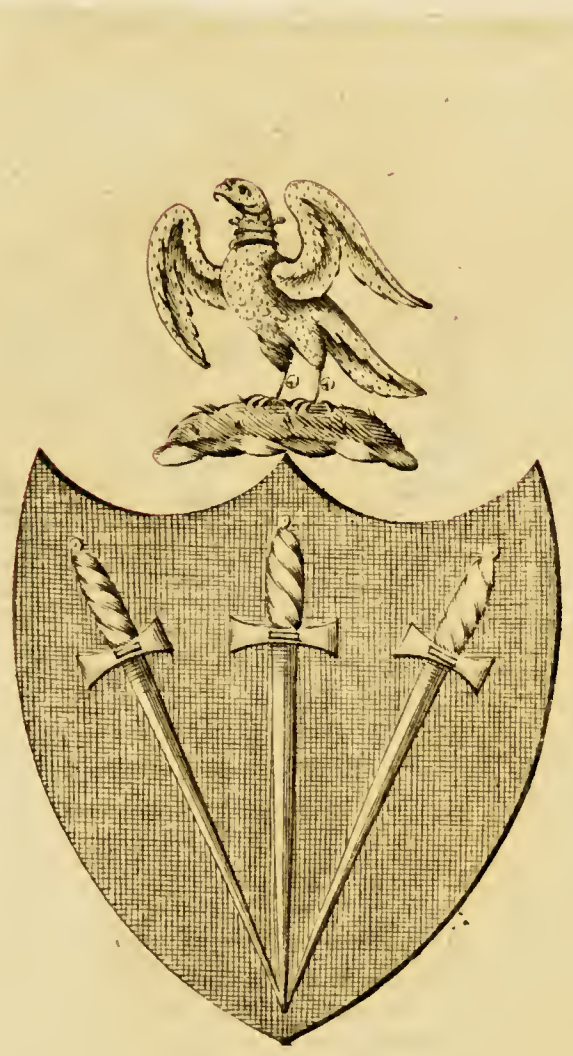

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THOUGHTS

ON THE

DIFFICULTIES AND DISTRESSES

IN WHICH THE

PEACE OF 1783,

HAS INVOLVED THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND;

ON THE

PRESENT DISPOSITION

OF THE

ENGLISH, SCOTS, AND IRISH,

TO

EMIGRATE TO AMERICA;

AND

On the Hazard they run (without certain Precautions) of rendering their Condition more deplorable.

ADDRESSED TO THE

Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

By JOHN KING, Esq;

Plus habet in receſſu, quam in fronte promittit.

QUINTIL.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON,

Printed for T. DAVIES, Great Ruſſell-Street, Covent-Garden; J. SOUTHERN, St. James's-Street; and W. DEANE, Royal-Exchange, 1783.

PICL

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

SIR,

I Humbly ſubmit this Pamphlet to your profound conſideration, becauſe Fortune has decreed it in her caprice, that you will render this country either mighty ſervices or mortal injuries. This I do not attribute to your abilities, which are rather glaring than ſolid, and calculated rather to ſtartle than to make deep and favourable impreſſions, but to the nature and unhappy circumſtances of the times, which intimidate genius, and keep back all but aſſured and audacious ſpirits, who may run any riſks, becauſe they have nothing to loſe. Salluſt ſays, " that bright talents, depraved by ambition, are more dangerous to the world than none." Such were *Catiline*'s talents; ſtrong, but terrible,

becauſe terribly perverted. He had great abilities; great accompliſhments; I think, as great as any man—but wanted virtue: an admirable head, corrupted by a bad heart. Such is the difference between great ſenſe and *ſound ſenſe*; and, conſequently, between parts and wiſdom; which implies not only parts, but the *direction of good parts to good purpoſes*. As able good men are the beſt men, a character too uncommon even where it moſt abounds; able bad men are the worſt men; a character too common even where it is moſt rare. Men of parts, who will rather diſplay them miſchievouſly than not diſplay them at all, only teach people to fear their parts and to hate their perſons; for whatever diſguiſes they wear, however they may deceive for a while, they will be diſcovered ſooner or later, and then not only miſs their aim of public admiration and worſhip, but meet with *infamy and public indignation*.

When you inform yourſelf who and what I am, (for I know you will inform yourſelf, and then pretend you never enquired,) you will be aſtoniſhed that I ſhould enter at all on political ſubjects, and eſpecially with a man who has made it a ſcience, or rather a trade; who had rather liſten to me on *ways*

and

and means, to raiſe temporary ſums, than hearken to the beſt and wiſeſt admonitions on the public weal.

I mean, Sir, to comply with what I know to be your conſtitutional diſpoſition—avarice, the handmaid of profligacy. Since you ſpent your fortune, (which was the inſtant you got it, for it was all previouſly pledged, in a diverſity of ways and to a variety of people,) your whole thoughts have been intent on ways and means; and your negociations with Jews, your adventures at gaming-houſes, and your ſtruggles in Parliament, have all been upon the ſame principle of unbounded avarice, to ſerve an unbounded extravagance. In the heat of your declamatory orations, treacherous divulgations of private occurrences are interſperſed; no confidence finds a ſecurity—nor is friendly intercourſe a reſtraint to your tongue. The acclamations of factious partizans are the utmoſt, becauſe the moſt profitable, plaudits you look for; and honour and moral rectitude eaſily become the victims to your inordinate vanity. I ſhall not imitate the conduct I execrate, nor unveil *your* ſecret tranſactions. There is not an uſurer in London, Jew or Gentile, but ſhudders at

your name; and the whole army of money-dealers fly at the firſt glance of your eye. Any thing that brings to your recollection the profligacy of juvenile years, is a ſort of ſtigma on your preſent character; for an uniform conduct has proved, that you was ſlightly vicious, becauſe you was but ſlightly capable; and that your depredations on the pecuniary tribe, was but the prelude to what you deſigned in a more ample field. The theatre of St. Stephen's was the great ſtage you had in your mind, and when opportunity offers, you never fail to diſcover the motive and principle that invariably influences your political conduct. When money is mentioned to you, the aſſociation of ideas links it to ſomething elſe; you frown, therefore, when the names of money-dealers are talked of, and readily join in the general obloquy they labour under. Money-dealers are the inſtruments which ſerve the purpoſes of two deſcriptions of men, who load them with the odium they have themſelves incurred; the uſurer would get illegal intereſt for his money, and would be unknown; the ſpendthrift would obtain money, by proffering enormous doceurs, which he has no intentions of paying; the broker is the ſcape-goat, who bears the ſins of theſe men, who abuſe each other in his perſon. As you

under-

underſtand this ſubject, and can diſcriminate between the man who deſerves, but eludes, the ignominy, and the man who bears it without meriting it; as you underſtand the whole arcana, of firſt infatuating the avaricious with advantageous bargains, and eventually invalidating their claims, I would wiſh, through your means, to rectify the opinions of the public, in reſpect to the ſources of all villainy in this buſineſs. The law favours the borrower and puniſhes the lender; of courſe, in every tranſaction made known, all obloquy falls on the perſon ſubject to puniſhment, but the guilt and infamy, in fact, and in nine caſes out of ten, are with the borrower. A boy has ſcarcely left Eton, when he is initiated in all the myſteries of borrowing at high intereſt, and the mode of cancelling the obligation afterwards. There are greater ſums of money made by *genteel ſharpers* in this way, in one year, than by all the Jews and Jewiſh Chriſtians, by uſury, in ten; and you as well as I could point out numbers in this town, who have no viſible means of ſpending five hundred a year, and who yet ſpend thouſands, and are not much indebted to the dice-box for their reſources. It is the knowledge which my profeſſion has furniſhed me with, that I mean to make uſe of on this occaſion, particularly

cularly in my addreſs to you. The ſtate and condition of all the principal families in this kingdom are known to me.——The reaſons that mercantile adventures are become deſperate games, that patriots are become corrupt, and that you have quitted paſs dice for orations in Parliament, are alſo known to me; but though diſtreſs is daily preſenting itſelf to me in various forms, my feelings are not yet reconciled to its appearances, or hardened againſt its moans; I cannot hope to aſpire to that apathy to public misfortune, which ſeems to mark your towering ambition.

The ſtate of the times is better known in the *practice* of ſome profeſſions, than by any other means. The reaſons of applications to me for the ſale of eſtates, are very different lately from thoſe which actuated them before the war. Diſſipation and vice were the reaſons then, however veiled by pretences; now, vice is ſtarving as well as virtue, and half the buſineſs of agents, who actually underſtand it, is to break down and liquidate the fragments of men's fortunes, and to pack them up for America. If any thing could impreſs your heart of adamant, if any thing could diſſolve the acrid humours of your nature into tears, it would be the tales I daily hear

of

of the general condition of the middle rank of people, who can no longer live here in decent mediocrity, and who (moſt of them) are going to ſacrifice themſelves and their families in ill-concerted ſchemes in America.

As patriotiſm, as well as pharo, is with you a game at cards, differing only in the nature of the ſtake, I wiſh you to attend to the ſuggeſtions I ſhall give you in the following pamphlet, that they may be played by you to advantage, and may benefit the public, while they help you upwards—for if the former circumſtance is not ſubſervient to the latter, I know you will not move a ſtep in the public cauſe. Indeed, when I conſider your character, I cannot help wondering at any ſpecies of confidence which is placed in you. But hiſtory abounds with ſuch abſurdities. Cæſar, as much ſuperior to you in abilities, as I hope he has been in public miſchief, begun by being popular. Mr. Gordon, in his diſcourſe on *patriots* and *parricides*, ſays, he gained all his power by popularity; he gained all his popularity by acting the patriot; and uſurped patriotiſm on purpoſe to uſurp the empire. Nor was this proceeding peculiar to Cæſar. It was the conſtant art and armour of all preceding parricides; and by it

they

they covered and recommended themſelves always with too much ſucceſs to the credulous many. In truth, the efforts of frauds, and managements of ſuch parricides (for many ſuch there were) make a great part of the Roman hiſtory, from the foundation of the republic, to the laſt period of Roman liberty. Cæſar had parts equal to any of them, though not ſuperior to ſome of them, with greater opportunities, and more ſucceſs. They had all pretended to be public *benefactors;* warm advocates for the *people*; zealous patrons of Liberty. Their fair profeſſions, falſe bounties, and boaſted patriotiſm, were *echoed with their names*, loudly among the populace. Then followed their popular direction and ſway—*deceitful ſpeeches—inflammatory invectives*;—pleaſing and pernicious laws; with all attempts to improve popular frenzy, and by the cry of liberty to eſtabliſh tyranny. *Catiline* followed the ſame road, and periſhed in it. Cæſar got to the end of it and periſhed afterwards. By the *cry and aſſiſtance of the people*, he baffled Pompey and the ſenate. By an army *procured for him by the people*, from the ſtate he enſlaved the people, and uſurped the ſtate: he made them giddy with the *ſound* of liberty; and whilſt they

they were under that infatuation, ſnatched away the ſubſtance.

You have tumbled down Lord Shelburne, a man who would be as dangerous as you are, if he had equal abilities—his inferiority he does not reckon a fault, but his misfortune—*I know the man full well*, and though I believe with all the world, he has not one virtue, yet he has a ſpirit of *mild malignity*, and of *moderate miſchief*, compared to your malevolent and turbulent diſpoſition: he made a peace, which was neceſſary to the nation; and though he employed contemptible and incompetent agents, (becauſe few of any other deſcription would ſerve him) the terms are, on the whole, as advantageous as the deplorable and humiliating condition of this country could have preſumed to expect: theſe preliminaries I attribute to you, and not to him—for you held him (to uſe a common phraſe) as a toad under a harrow—he laboured inceſſantly to avoid your fangs, but you were intent and determined on his deſtruction—and *he is gone, it is hoped, for ever.*

As you ſeem likely to have great weight in the affairs of this country, I want to find ſome principle in your mind that may induce you

to pay attention to the ſubject of this pamphlet. Perhaps if a virtuous induſtry was to be encouraged, ſuch men as you would be baniſhed from the land; but as a ſpirit of univerſal gambling has taken place of induſtrious and virtuous merit, both in political and common life, I think you muſt remain conſpicuous and of the higheſt importance. The figure you made in the late debates on the peace, was ſuch as would have ſtartled an infernal aſſembly; for you reconciled contradictions; avowed defection of principle; proclaimed your neceſſities as reaſons for your being employed, with an audacioufneſs that exceeded mortal depravity: the Houſe ſeemed to acquieſce under a torrent of vociferous words, and you was hailed as Satan on the burning lake, the leader of the next peſtilential band, which is to pillage the indigent of this country.

It is in this capacity I apply to you: I do not mean that it is in your power or inclination to reſtore the occupations of trade and commerce, which might recover the faded luſtre of the nation. But you muſt be abandoned to your ſelfiſh views on this country, if you do not attend to the preſent ſtate of property, and preſent ſpirit of emigration.

If

If you conſider the people of England as ſo many patient aſſes, to be burthened and tormented to gorge ſucceſſive and ravenous adminiſtrations; ſtill there is an intereſt to the narroweſt avarice, in making it poſſible for them juſt to live, and to yield ſupport to thoſe who can obtain the good fortune of being their maſters.

With this view I ſubmit the following thoughts to your conſideration, and ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your humble Servant,

No. 53,
Dean-ſtreet, Soho.

JOHN KING.

SECTION I.

Condition of ENGLAND at the Peace of 1783.

I DO not mean here to conſider the political ſtate of this country, but as it ariſes out of the condition of its property and trade; theſe being the objects which have principally occupied my attention, I may be qualified to ſpeak on them.

Previous to the unnatural disjunction with America, the general balance of trade was ſo much in favour of England, that thoſe who regarded the accumulation of money were overwhelmed with a variety of opportunities of gratifying their avarice, and prodigals found ſuch facility in raiſing the ſums they wanted, that it allured and precipitated them to deſtruction. Thoſe who had eſtates in poſſeſſion or reverſion, ſunk them irrecoverably; and the moonſhine 'ſquire, who had no real property, borrowed on pretended or ima-

imaginary contingency, and made his exit in a gaol, or at Tyburn. It was the facility of obtaining money that drove our degenerate nobility to the gaming-table, or transferred their eſtates to their faithleſs ſtewards; and it was a ſimilar cauſe, that brought the famous Dr. Dodd to a melancholy ignominious end.

When the war broke out, almoſt all the property of the nation was held in a ſuſpended ſtate between uſurers and ſpendthrifts. The ſudden ruin of the Roman republic, and the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy, or a perpetual dictatorſhip, did not occaſion a greater revolution in the wealth of that empire, than this period did in England. The trade in the neighbouring and diſtant nations, which had poured in an inundation of wealth, was quickly exchanged for gambling at the Treaſury. The quantity of wealth in the nation was greater, and it appeared aſtoniſhingly greater than it really was, to thoſe whoſe ſhort-ſighted ſagacity miſtook * the loans to government as ſigns of proſperity; when, in fact, they were fatal ſymptoms of a moſt rapid decline; for the people were ſo habi-

* Vid. Sir James Stuart on Loans and Taxes, Vol. II.

tuated

tuated in the prevailing ſpirit of gambling, that the miniſter might have amaſſed all the wealth of the country, while he gave exorbitant premiums for it, though he paid the intereſt by the moſt oppreſſive taxes. In the mean time, the property of the nation was gradually changing hands; miniſters, and miniſters ſecretaries, generals, commiſſioners, admirals, and a whole liſt of needy vermin, that had long been grovelling about the earth, and waiting the diſtreſs of their country, to raiſe their own fortunes, were accumulating immenſe ſums, at leaſt of ideal property; while America, though whole multitudes of her inhabitants were mowed down by the war, was gradually coming into poſſeſſion of the circulating coin ſhe ſo much wanted. In the mean time, induſtry was languiſhing at home, and population decreaſing; every branch of trade, and every purſuit of commerce were ſuſpended: the eagerneſs of the miniſter to ſupply the exigencies of an unpopular war, and the ſordidneſs of a few wealthy miſcreants, to increaſe their property, by furniſhing him, was almoſt the only traffic of England. The aſſiduous trader, and reſpectable merchant, were forced to be idle ſpectators of the gloomy ſcene, which the once flouriſhing city exhibited, being under the neceſſity

either

either to join in the desperate game of the minister's manœuvres, or patiently wait the renovation of commerce. Here I must observe, that to display a talent of sophistication, or to favour the views of ambitious patrons, some men of literary reputation have scandalously twisted and entangled this subject by their controversies. Dr. Price *, to serve the designs of Lord Shelburne, wrote several pamphlets to dishearten and degrade the nation; to prove by indirect indications, that none could retrieve the declining grandeur of this country, but men of trans-atlantic sentiments: experience has shewn the vanity and presumption of the implication; the jesuitical temper and puny abilities of Lord Shelburne has proved, that his fantastic systems and idle theories, were but the wild creatures of a designing imagination, which, reduced into practice, bewildered and confused what was already sufficiently intricate and distracted.

I venture to suspect this connection, because since the accession of Lord Shelburne into power, one Morgan, a needy relation of the pious and melancholy Doctor, is unnecessarily provided for. Dr. Price, who is silent in cir-

* Vid. Price's Pamphlets on Population, on the National Debt, and on Civil Liberty.

cum-

cumſtances really alarming, and when no ſiniſter motive ſtimulates him to write, was inceſſantly ringing the knell of deſpair in our ears, while Lord Shelburne was unemployed: the noble peer ſtudied elaborate harangues, to terrify the liſtening aſſembly; and the hypochondriac Doctor endeavoured, by mathematical axioms, or by logical ſyllogiſms, to ſhew the dangerous conſequences of an encreaſing national debt, and the deſponding degree to which trade and population had gradually ſunk; but as ſoon as the real end of this ſpecies of patriotiſm was anſwered, the nobleman was ſilent, and the Doctor dropt his pen.

The Rev. Mr. Howlet, Mr. Wales*, the mathematical maſter of Chriſt-church-ſchool, and Chalmers†, (whom I ſuſpect to be a ſinecure incumbent,) have all maintained oppoſite opinions to Dr. Price; and the ground they have choſen is well adapted for eternal controverſy, but will never lead a ſtep to the diſcovery of truth; for, as to population, they have derived their knowledge from partial enquiries and informations; and, in

* Vid. Howlet and Wales on Population.

† Chalmers's Eſtimate of the Strength of Britain.

reſpect to trade, they found all their ſapience on the Cuſtom-houſe entries. If government had not been well informed, the general opinion of Dr. Price, concerning population, was true, though his manner of aſcertaining it was abſurd, meaſures would have been immediately taken to eſtabliſh the contrary opinion; for the biſhops (always at the devotion of the miniſtry) might have iſſued an order to all the clergy in England, which, in one month, would have ſettled a point that ſo many profound gentlemen have been waſting their brains upon for many years. When philoſophy has abated the furor of fanaticiſm, and liberal learning teaches only truth; when deiſm is not only introduced into our hiſtories, eſſays, and diſſertations, but publicly taught in our pulpits; a deiſtic preacher erecting a deiſtic temple in our metropolis: it would be wonderful that ſuperſtition ſhould not totally ſubſide. It is not to be imagined, therefore, the people would ſcruple to be numbered, eſpecially as this ſuperſtition may be referred to the Jewiſh nation; and the Jewiſh laws and traditions were abrogated by the Goſpel, before the Goſpel was rendered unfaſhionable by the deiſts.

Though

Though adminiſtration wear the maſk of religion, to keep up their popularity, yet the profligacy of their private lives plainly diſcovers their real opinions; and their affectation of yielding to the public prejudice, in not numbering the people, is a proof with me, that they were well informed, that population decreaſed throughout the whole iſland, though the Biſhop of Cheſter * pretended to find things differently circumſtanc'd in his particular dioceſe. Whatever checks induſtry, decreaſes population; whatever renders difficult the maintenance of a private family, has the ſame effect on the whole nation; and abundant cauſes of this kind have not been wanting, ſince the commencement of diſputes with America.

The ſtate of trade does not admit of a diſpute; for the uſe made of entries at the Cuſtom-houſe, to prove its increaſe, are fallacious and reprehenſible. Many of thoſe millions ſent to America to maintain our troops, produced entries at the Cuſtom-houſe of goods, proviſions, &c. which were all, in reality, dead loſſes to the Public at large, though they appeared in the books as advantages in

* Vid. Dr. Porteus's Account of the Increaſe of Population in Cheſhire.

trade: theſe appearances were deceitful; for the money we received for our goods, was the very money we had already ſent to ſupport our troops; ſo that as the Cuſtom-houſe entries augmented, our loſſes were enhanced; though, to the undiſcerning, it had the contrary appearance. The gains derived by this deſtructive traffic was acquired by miniſters and contractors; for the oppreſſive contributions, furniſhed by the nation to ſupport the diſtant troops, reverted into their coffers; the country was thus fleeced of its riches and drained of its produce, while ſome people fancied their commerce proſperous and profitable.

Deluſive and diſadvantageous as this commerce was, the diſcontinuance of it ſeems replete with miſchief and inconvenience; for when the armies and navies, which furniſhed this ſpecies of trade, are given up, the people employed to ſupply them loſe their occupations, and an inundation of ſoldiers and ſailors will pour in among the people, to add to their diſtreſs, and participate of their miſeries; the faithful veterans, who have fought and conquered in defence of their country, can find no reward for their valour, nor even a ſcanty ſubſiſtence for their families, and

the

the hapleſs war they have ſupported, has conſigned them to diſtreſs and ruin.

Theſe melancholy effects are already felt throughout the nation, and a general ſpirit to *emigrate to America, or the Indies*, pervades the whole claſs of the middling people—I will conſider the temptations which are held out in both theſe places to the oppreſſed inhabitants of Great-Britain.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the EAST-INDIES.

WHEN I approach this country, even in imagination, my cheeks feel a glowing ſhame at the degraded name and character of an Engliſhman; my fancy ſees the ſun-burnt coaſt ſwarming with the mournful ſpirits of the oppreſſed and famiſhed natives, imprecating vengeance on their ſordid and inhuman tormentors; myriads of pale ſpectres, ſtarved by artificial famine, ſhock my buſy fancy; and the once peaceful plains, hallowed by a venerable religion and learning, ſeem ſtrewed with unhappy victims. Among them I ſee the towering ſhade of Pigot, indignantly pointing to the fatal ſoup-plate*, his majeſtic ſhade regretting to have

* Lord Pigot eat heartily of turtle ſoup a few days before his death; of which Stratton, Mackay, &c. uſed to ſay he was very fond. In a hot climate *it was natural* it ſhould produce a fever, &c. &c. &c.

fallen

fallen a victim to the treachery of deſpicable adverſaries. He calls on the name of Manſfield; but an Engliſh judge muſt have expreſs evidence, for Juſtice is blind. An Engliſh jury, in the caſe of Doneilan, condemned the guilty villain on indiſputable preſumptions; but the horrid buſineſs had been perpetrated in the neighbourhood, and every juryman felt as a neighbour:—ſtronger preſumptions, and more accurate evidences from India, would not warm and affect an Engliſh jury, nor engage the feelings of a judge; and Aſiatic offenders not only eſcape juſtice, but add infection to our corrupted Boroughs—diſhonour our Britiſh Senate—and after acts of atrocious delinquency, and with hands yet reeking with Indian blood, take their ſeats among the repreſentatives of the nation.

This impunity of peculators and criminals, the oppreſſions exerciſed in trade, by the wretched inſtruments of an injudicious and impolitic monopoly, has rouzed the whole peninſula of Hindoſtan; the ſurviving remains of a half butchered and famiſhed nation, begin to revolt againſt their unnatural invaders, and they look only for a convenient ſeaſon to effectually extirpate the whole race

of

of European monſters. Hyder Ali would be univerſally hailed the deliverer of his country, if his ambitious and ſelfiſh character was not underſtood, and the Marhatta powers were not aware, that aſſiſting him to overwhelm the Engliſh, would be only exchanging tyrants. Haſtings's wiſdom and policy, and the conduct and bravery of Sir Eyre Coote, have ſuſpended the fate of the company; but the endeavours to ſupplant and ſucceed them by powerful, but neceſſitous ſycophants at home, and the terms of a peace, which afford ſuch opportunity to the French of being *uſeful* to their allies, make it probable, that the cup of vengeance is rapidly approaching the lips of the Engliſh: their rapine, their ingratitude, and their barbarity, ſeem ready to be retorted with accumulated ſeverity: would to heaven, that every guilty *Nabob here*, was ſent to participate in India of the impending puniſhment!

India, however exhauſted with private oppreſſions and public wars, is ſtill the dernier reſort of all the deſperate and profligate: a cheeſemonger's boy metamorphoſed to a general officer, Stratton, Sykes, Rumbold, and innumerable others, ſpringing from filth and crimes, into elevated ſituations and ſplen-

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did fortunes, are viciſſitudes that have maddened the brains of tradeſmen and mechanics. When indolence or extravagance has reduced men to indigence, Aſia is the magnet that attracts their hopes and views; to reach India, and to create ſudden fortunes, ſeems but one and the ſame thing. The aſtoniſhing and rapid *revolutions* in Aſia, has determined men and women to try whether they were born the children of fortune; and an abandoned infatuated tradeſman here, tranſported his daughter to the torrid zone, and to the lecherous embraces of old Mackay, becauſe ſhe could obtain no other paſſport; and when the antiquated debauchee came to anſwer the charge of Pigot's murder, he engaged to return to India on the ſame terms with the ſecond daughter: the accurſed father had agreed to the ſhocking bargain; but providence counteracted the deſign, by the ſudden death of the aged ſinner: as inordinate and criminal paſſions were his offences through life, ſo did they in the end become his puniſhment; for, to cheriſh his unnatural gratifications, he had purſued the dictates of Graham, till *æther of cantharides* occaſioned his diſſolution.

There are other projects, equally infamous and atrocious, that have come to my knowledge, and it may be presumed, that they are numberless; for men who have worn out their fortunes and their credits here, have no alternative, but a voluntary transportation, or a perilous hazard at home. Women, who have no pretensions to a settlement, from a want of beauty, of fortune, and of virtue, look there, not only for an asylum from distress, but as to a theatre of splendid success, where, with tolerable address, and a promptitude to villainy, they must obtain the summit of their expectations. When I describe these flattering allurements of India, I do not mean to glance at the exalted characters of Colonel Tarleton and Mrs. Robinson: the redoubted hero, who had the art, by wild excursions and Quixote expeditions, to acquire a fame without deserving it, must be a fit tutor and companion to the heir apparent of Britain: he may teach him all he knows, by manœuvres on Blackheath, and feats of horsemanship in St. James's-street; this will ensure him popularity, and engage the affections of his future subjects; while the aspiring Jezebel, in the violation of hymeneal bands, may infuse an inflammatory spirit in the royal blood, no less important to his

health,

health, than the precepts of her paramour to his mind. Mourn, ye inhabitants of Albion, when the unhappy period ſhall arrive, that ſhall waft this renowned couple to the ſultry plains of Aſia!

The intent of theſe obſervations is to ſhew, that India, as the affairs of it are managed, does not hold out any proſpects of relief to this country, as a nation, in its preſent diſtreſsful ſituation: that it is, in general, a receptacle for deſperate and abandoned adventurers; and the induſtrious and valuable part of this nation is injured, rather than benefited, by the Eaſt-Indies. The method of changing the face of things in that country, is a ſubject of too great magnitude for me even to ſuggeſt hints upon at this time. The Eaſt-Indies will prove a millſtone round the neck of England, or a golden baſis to erect her proſperity upon, as ſhe has recourſe to wiſe or weak meaſures in her future plan of governing it.

The allurements in India, however ſpecious, are often deceitful: there, only thoſe of a particular deſcription thrive, and even they are frequently diſappointed. A country waſted by depredation, and a people impover-

iſhed by repeated extortion, muſt ſend back its new oppreſſors as neceſſitous as they came: America is now the fancied land of milk and honey, that every diſtreſſed Engliſhman lifts his eye to; the wide extent of that continent ſeems to open new ſcenes and new hopes: I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, even here, their views may be deceived, and their expectations fruſtrated.

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SECTION III.

AMERICA.

WE were told by a prieſt, profeſſing Paganiſm in a Chriſtian country, ten or twelve years ago *, that all the virtues were flying weſtward. Dr. Price †, while he was weaning our affections from this world, and fixing them on heaven, pointed to America as an intermediate place, a temporary aſylum for the miſerable inhabitants of Europe; the people are every where preparing to ſeek this favoured country, to enjoy that freedom and plenty which no part of European ground ſeems longer to afford them; but it is humanity as well as policy to warn them of the dangers, difficulties, and accidents which will deſtroy the greater part of thoſe who emigrate to America, on the adjuſtment of the definitive treaty.

* Vide Williams's Eſſay on Public Worſhip, Patriotiſm, &c. † Price's Sermons at Hackney.

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The climates of America, under ſimilar latitudes to thoſe of Europe, are unfriendly to to health and longevity, though the manner in which the ſettled inhabitants procure ſubſiſtence is favourable to population. To judge by the inſcriptions on tomb-ſtones, the general period of human life is from forty-five to fifty: this muſt be aſcribed to the pernicious effects on the human frame, from uncleared and uncultivated ſoil; and this effect works on the natives with a ſurpriſing degree of uniformity: how may we imagine will it affect thoſe, who, from their tendereſt infancy, have been accuſtomed to clear and cultivated countries, when even the robuſt ſons of that continent fall victims to the unwholeſome vapours of uncleared ground, and a foul atmoſphere? How will they operate on the delicate conſtitutions of a people enervated by indolence, and emaciated by diſeaſe? If England's moderate climate, and the moſt careful tenderneſs, cannot preſerve and lengthen the lives of its natives; how little calculated for ſuch conſtitutions are the rude blaſts of American winds, and the coarſe ſuſtenance of a laborious people! Theſe are reaſons for deliberation and caution, and ſufficiently alarm-

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ing to deter thoſe who mean to emigrate to America.

The condition of ſociety varies extremely in the provinces of America from that of England; and the emigrants will find themſelves egregiouſly deceived, in their expectations of eaſe and affluence: it is not a country matured and grown opulent by commerce; it is a new diſcovered land, occupied by ancient ſavages, and ravaged by late wars; for a century to come, it can require no more than mere labour on the ſoil; and it cannot ſuit the dainty ſons of England, to croſs the Atlantic for a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, earned by the ſweat of their brows.

The government of America abounds with thoughtful and moderate men, inured to attentive induſtry, and to temperance; America has no kings, lords, and high-prieſts, whoſe devouring neceſſities might impel them to premature commercial adventures: in their preſent ſtate of ſimplicity, the farmers are the people they want, and plain mechanics, for the works of neceſſity; their flouriſhing agriculture will yield a redundancy of heavy and rude ſuperfluities, and the ſuperabundant produce will teach the

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neceſſity of exportation; but all this will be done principally by her natives, and dreaming foreigners may be obliged to return to their own countries to exerciſe that dexterity and ſkill which was not wanted among a ruſtic and induſtrious people. When Rome began to flouriſh, though ſhe was dear to her own citizens, and the envy of ſurrounding nations, yet ſtrangers could find no allurements to incorporate or dwell among the Romans; for the hard living and rigid diſcipline that made them great, made foreigners diſlike them. Luxury and eaſe is what a voluptuous people ſeek, and they are to be met with only in nations grown rich by long proſperity, and happy and indolent by long peace. As peace and happineſs prevail, and as liberty flouriſhes, ſo will the arts and ſciences make their progreſs; but theſe cannot obtain any great conſideration in the infancy of a new formed government, which may be diſturbed and rent by the machinations of turbulent and aſpiring leaders. The men who have applied to me to aſſiſt them in their departure, were perſons who had formerly been employed in complicated branches of refined trade; perſons who had ſuffered by imprudence and idleneſs; perſons who ſought to diſplay their

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talents where they could neither be admired or underſtood; I ſpeak from thorough knowledge and information, and I warn and apprize them, " that they are not wanted in " America; and if they go there, they will " be diſappointed, neglected and periſh."

The emiſſaries of America ſay differently. They are diſperſed through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to inveigle our huſbandmen and mechanics; at the head of theſe is the *good*, the *ſimple*, the *undeſigning* Mr. Laurens; and he has various ſubordinates employed in the ſame way, more active and diligent in their endeavours than Mr. Richard Brinſley Sheridan, or Colonel Fitzpatrick, in the intervals of their occupations at the gaming-table. After America, like a grateful child, has ſhaken off all connection with the Mother-Country, ſhe is *embowelling* the nation of her moſt uſeful inhabitants; and ſhould Lord Shelburne, Lord North, Lord Gower, Lord Carliſle, Lord Thurlow, Lord Aſhburton, Mr. Fox, and his *immaculate* aſſociates, and even the pompous offspring of Lord Chatham, be offered to Mr. Laurens for the uſe of America, he would at heart contemn the uſeleſs offer, though he would cant the rejec-

tion in an American compliment; he would not take them in exchange for ſo many athletic negroes. A riſing commonwealth can yet require no heads to plan out ways and means; no inventions for freſh loans and new taxes. Laurens wiſhes them to remain here, to perplex and embarraſs the ſtate with cabals and contentions, in parcelling out power and places. If Laurens could people ſome diſtrict of America with our factious partizans, and patriotic impoſtors, unanimity and peace might again predominate; but he ſeeks the quiet and uſeful members of the community, to eſtabliſh and improve their manufactures: and thus on the reſtoration of peace, renders more eſſential injuries to England, than the moſt vigorous and expenſive continuance of the war.

I have ſeen letters from people in various parts of the kingdom, from Scotland, and from Ireland, which ſhew the almoſt general diſpoſition to emigration:—every one ſeems to have converſed with an American emiſſary, and to have been ſeduced by his inſidious perſuaſions; but woeful experience will in future convince ſuch men, that the information they receive, was as authentic as that which recommended to royal fa-

vour the illuſtrious Arnold, Galloway, and Fanning. The Americans, like the confederate bands of St. Giles's, are ſincere among themſelves, but deceitful and perfidious to all the world beſide: this ariſes from many cauſes, and principally from a preciſe hypocritical religion; we have ſeen a tenet in Chriſtian or Catholic doctrines recommending faith and attachments among its votaries, and deception and treachery to all others.

The fineſſe of Buckingham-houſe held American duplicity in contempt, and heightened its contempt when Lord Shelburne carried with ~~them~~ there the quinteſſence of Preſbyterianiſm; but the whole junto was often duped by the meaneſt votary of American hypocriſy. The contemptible Hutton, houſe-keeper of the Moravian hotel, by affecting deafneſs, or blindneſs, or ignorance, or honeſty, or whatever ſerv'd his purpoſes, wormed himſelf into confidence at Buckingham-houſe; and with greater intereſt in America than the power of the king of England could compenſate, and in his ſoul attached to the American cauſe, he had the holy art to affect ſuch attachment to the Engliſh miniſtry, as circumvented and blinded their utmoſt ſagacity, and he was diſpatched to

Paris, to found and delude Dr. Franklin; which duty he diſcharged as faithfully and effectually as he *intended*. Where is the ſenſe and ſpirit of Engliſhmen flown? And where is the dignity of their anceſtors? Are profligate and prodigal noblemen, or deſperate and abandoned adventurers, to occupy our public offices, while the wary Americans are ſilently ſeducing from us our moſt reſpectable, and our moſt uſeful citizens? If ſhe is determined to inveigle and betray Engliſhmen into her inhoſpitable land, let her enſnare thoſe leaders of parties, whole abilities and eloquence have ſo long been a *bane to the ſtate*.

In the inſatiable avarice and profligacy of our governors, the people perceive an increaſe of their burthens; the ſcene continually changes, but no revolution promiſes alleviation to their diſtreſſes: needy candidates ſucceed to ravenous miniſters; a deſtructive war is followed by a diſadvantageous peace; and every one fancies, that America will yield him the eaſe and plenty that is ſo abundantly and ſo confidently promiſed.

What is to be done? every body cries, "ſchemes of recalling ancient ſimplicity, "and

" and making mankind honeſt and virtuous,
" are beautiful ſpeculations; I admire them
" as much as any body, but not enough to
" believe them practicable in our degenerate
" days." Thoſe who are ſtruggling for the emoluments of governing a declining country and an oppreſſed people, would be more laudably employed in examining the inconveniencies and ſufferings that we ſee and feel every day, and to point out how far the bad might be avoided, and the good turned to the beſt advantage. Depopulation is as certain a mark of political diſeaſes, as waſting is of thoſe in the human body; the increaſe of numbers in a ſtate, ſhews youth and vigour; when numbers do not diminiſh, we have an idea of manhood; and of age, when they decline; ſomething ſhould be done to prevent the fatal conſequences of this rapid decline. Nothing conſiſtent with liberty can be done to prevent emigration. A general naturalization Sir James Stuart pronounces to be a leap in the dark; for, however eaſy it may be to naturalize men, I believe nothing is ſo difficult as to naturalize cuſtoms and foreign habits; and the greateſt bleſſing any nation can enjoy, is an uniformity of opinion on every point that concerns public affairs, and the adminiſtration of them. When God

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bleſſes a people, he makes them unanimous, and beſtows on them a governor who loves them, and who is beloved, honoured and reſpected by them; this, and this only, can create unanimity. At this rate, England muſt deſpair; if wiſe and good men were ſubſtituted for the baſe herd that has ſo long diſgraced and injured a patient country; if diſintereſted and ſincere patriots would come forward to drive off the ſtage the deſigning ſophiſts, who confound the ſenſes and corrupt the honeſty of the people, the ſhackles of trade might be taken off, proſperity begin again to dawn; the commerce of the Indies, that has ſo long fed the paſſions of ſenſual Nabobs, might be laid open; a diſcouraging monopoly might no longer preclude an induſtrious people, while it fattened and enriched the luxurious invaders of the eaſt, and gratified their licentious appetites; manufactures might be encouraged in every part of the country; duties would be lowered, and oppreſſive places and penſions aboliſhed; our accumulated misfortunes might then begin to diminiſh, and leave the people a poſſibility of obtaining a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Taxes have been deemed a ſtimulative to induſtry; but when they increaſe beyond due proportion, they become fatal, and an inſurmount-

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able obſtacle to it; the wretched labourer, whoſe utmoſt induſtry will ſcarcely earn a moderate livelihood, can but ill afford the rigorous deductions which a hard government has impoſed on him. While America offers eaſe and abundance, and England deprives her ſubjects of the means of ſubſiſtence, ſhe muſt become depopulated. Sir James Stuart ſays, "I apprehend, that in "man, as in every other animal, the generative faculty is more than able to repair all "loſſes occaſioned by regular diſeaſes; and "I have ſhewn, I think, more than once, "that *multiplication can never ſtop* but for "want of food; as long then as the labour "of man can contrive annually to produce "the ſame quantity of food as at preſent, "and that *motives* are found to make him "labour; the ſame numbers may be fed, "and the generative faculty,—which, from "one pair, has produced ſo many millions, "would certainly do more than keep up "the ſtock." The late miſmanagement in England muſt have occaſioned extreme depopulation, though the influx from Scotland and Ireland has recruited it; but theſe ſupplies may now be diverted to the new hemiſphere: the ſtrangers who flock to England, in hopes of gaining a livelihood, are

counterbalanced by thoſe, who leave it with the ſame intention. When Scotland and Ireland become exhauſted by their emigrations to England, we ſhall then ſee our depopulation in glaring colours; even veiled, as it now is, from the vulgar eye, the lords, the biſhops, the commons, at leaſt their repreſentatives, are perfectly aware of it, though they adopt no meaſures to prevent the alarming conſequences; to ſeize the helm of a ſinking ſtate, and ſhare in its wreck, ſeems the ſole object of our nobility and popular leaders; no one ſincerely endeavours to ſave that country, for which generations of his anceſtors fought and bled. If trade flouriſhed and the labourer could live, he would not be ſeduced by the faſcinating, though ſometimes falſe colours held out by America; he would not deſperately go to clear woods, drain marſhes, or cultivate rank ſoils, in an unhealthy country, nor waſte his days in golden deluſive dreams of Eaſt-India voyages. England, the ſeat of wealth, of happineſs, and of liberty, would ſtill retain its ſuperiority, and its grateful citizens would retain their attachment. Laurens, Franklin, or Digges, would no longer be believed in their comments on Engliſh vice, or on its ſymptoms of approaching ſlavery. Donato Garrotti (ſay

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theſe hoary diſturbers) was ſecretary to the ſtate of Florence, while it was yet free; he would not bear even to live in it, when changed into a deſpotic principality, and ſubjected to the houſe of Medicis, though he was offered the higheſt dignities and advantages by the Great Duke; all which he utterly rejected, and retired to Venice, to live and die in a free city; he ſcorned to countenance tyranny, nor could he bear to ſee the conſequences of the terrible change which had taken place; the beſt citizens exiled, impriſoned or awed, neglected and unpreferred; the worſt, careſſed and promoted for being ſo; men of merit loſt in oblivion and ſolitude; objects of jealouſy, and uſeleſs to the public, gamblers, panders, and betrayers in high fame, and covered with honours. This, it is ſaid, was a good ſpirit in Garrotti, and he made a proper choice. Philip Strozzi, the illuſtrious citizen of the ſame place, was ſo paſſionately fond of public liberty, and bore ſuch an antipathy to ſlavery, that having tried all means of reſtoring the freedom of his country, without ſucceſs, he ordered his children to remove his bones from his grave in Florence, and, carrying them to Venice, inter them there; to the end, ſays he, that

ſince I had not the felicity to die in a free ſtate, I may enjoy the favour after my death of having my aſhes reſt in peace, out of the reach and domination of thoſe who have ruined my country. Theſe ſentiments, urged by American art, have the utmoſt effect in forwarding the emigration of the people; for the emiſſaries tell them, or they fancy, that the ſame arbitrary ſyſtem is cheriſhed in the Engliſh cabinet, and the ſame patronage is continued to the profligate and bad men, who firſt diſmembered this mighty empire.

The beſt ſyſtem of civil laws is now corrupted by the influence of politics—the judges who preſide in our principal courts are natives of another, though a connected country; they were born and educated under a different juriſprudence from that of England; they ſtill wear the prejudices of that education; the impreſſions ſo early and ſo invariably inculcated will never be obliterated; and being ambitious of high honours and ſplendid fortunes, they are always ſervilely attached to the court; and their adjudications, whenever they could be ſo contrived, have always been conducive to deſpotiſm.—Law has been ſtretched and twiſted

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as if there were no ſtatutes to regulate it—the doctrine of equity has been informally introduced in courts of law, and the court of equity itſelf has fallen aſleep.

The unhappy days of the Stuarts produced a Barebones Parliament, not more wretched and motley than the conventicle of actors, adventurers, and ſharpers that we have ſeen preſide in theſe days.—Chief judges, puiſne judges, and even paltry juſtices, have foregone the dilatory cuſtom of minute inveſtigation, and ſummarily convicted or acquitted.—Lord Mansfield has aſſiduouſly endeavoured to diſcredit trials by jury, and curtailed and almoſt annihilated the province of their interference; while *they* have tamely forfeited their privilege of adjudication, and decided as the judge frowned or perſuaded—bad means have been adapted to good ends, not to effect important and permanent good—but to become a precedent for future innovation and violence. The people have ſeen themſelves reduced to intolerable indigence to maintain a ruinous war, and they have found that war ſucceeded by what is generally thought a diſhonourable peace—taxes and extortions have accumulated with a rapidity

which nothing could equal, but the proportionate decline of induſtry and commerce—though, in former days, the impoſt of ſhip-money threw all England into commotion, harder exactions have ſince been unremittingly impoſed with impunity. The abſurd and arbitrary doctrine held out to check the liberty of the preſs, would not be maintained in the barbarous government of Turkey—"That the truth of an accuſation conſtitutes "the guilt and enormity of a libel."—In deſpotic governments, men are not allowed to write what they think; but the legal maxim, that truth is the eſſence of a political crime, was reſerved for the diſcovery of the fertile genius of Lord Mansfield, and the diſgrace of the law of England in the unfortunate reign of George the Third.

I will not follow Lord Loughborough through the various evolutions of his fortune, ſince he left (on a quarrel with another barriſter) an unpromiſing ſtation at the Scotch bar—he tried patriotiſm while it promiſed any thing in England, and quitted his pretended principle with ſo little decency and qualification, that the court ſoon noticed and marked him as qualified for its purpoſe,

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i. e. for any purpoſes by which he might be enriched and ennobled—he entered ſo warmly into all the inſane and ſanguinary meaſures of the American war, that he was ſoon gratified in his utmoſt wiſhes.—I will not detail his adjudications, cenſure his errors, or condemn his mal-verſations, for I know that truths are libels in the Common Pleas as well as in the King's Bench—the influence of a judge on a jury is not unknown—and the uſe that Lord Loughborough muſt make of ſuch power, on certain occaſions, need not be deſcribed to thoſe who have heard or been affected by his deciſions.

The caprice lately introduced into the adminiſtration of the beſt code of civil laws that human knowledge ever framed, has troubled and confuſed the current of Juſtice, and added to the evils which preſſed the people to emigration. This ſhould be removed by the wiſdom of legiſlature; but whether the preſent poſſeſſes wiſdom or not, is extremely problematical. One branch of that legiſlature is approaching the laſt ſteps of diſhonour, and perhaps the inſidious policy of the court intentionally miſleads it, and the peo-

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ple may imagine it unneceſſary, or that it is a morbid and infectious limb of the conſtitution, which ſhould be amputated. It was thus that Denmark and Sweden were cajoled out of their liberties—the univerſal language in and out of the houſe of commons reflects diſhonour on its character, integrity, and utility; and the ſtigma grows ſo great, that to be a member, will ſoon become an exception in the admiſſion of a man to reſpectable aſſociations.

In this houſe, the moſt abandoned, profligate, and unprincipled members, are the moſt importunate candidates for public offices—the choice of the ſovereign, and the wiſhes of the people, are not regarded in clamorous ſtruggles for *means of ſubſiſtence*, and *convenience of peculation*. Under theſe diſadvantages, the people ſeek an aſylum three thouſand miles off, in the wilds of America.

To whom ſhall I addreſs myſelf in the behalf of the worthieſt ſubjects of the Britiſh empire, with whoſe intereſt and concerns I am involved?—To the king?—His throne is *beſieged*, and if he does not find

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means to ſilence the clangor of ravenous and deſperate aſſailants, the outworks will be taken by ſtorm—the loſs of popularity is the effect of Scotch councils—if characters like Fox and his adherents, had been violently obtruded on George the Second, violence would have been oppoſed to violence, and the united ſpirit of the nation would haſtily have reſented the inſult and diſgrace.

Can I apply to parliament—after what has been recently advanced—after what is daily ſaid of parliament by its own members? And yet ſurely in this vortex of corruption, there are ſome individuals who wiſh well to their country. Where are the boaſts of Sir Charles Turner? Not among the rack'd and oppreſſed tenants at Kirkleatham: a tyrant among his immediate dependants, muſt be a wretched patriot to protect a ſinking people and a declining empire.

The long perſecuted Wilkes, and Townſend and Sawbridge, are all gliding down the oblivious ſtream; but from the efforts and diſintereſted perſeverance of Lord Surrey, Sir George Savile, General Conway, and ſome few others, we may ſtill hope a mitigation

of

of the public diſtreſs; and we ſhall then perceive, that it is not the barren ſolitary tracts of America that allure the people to emigration, but the calamities they endure at home, force them to ſearch abroad for relief, though in their random wanderings they plunge into greater hardſhips.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

TO convince my readers, that in the preceding publication, I have been actuated only by a love of truth, and that I am as willing to acknowledge my miſtakes, as to point out the faults of other perſons, I inſert the following papers.

My information, in reſpect to Col. Fanning, and Mr. Laurens, was ſuch as warranted the general intimations I have thrown out; common opinion here has been unfavourable to Col. Fanning, though the authenticity of the papers he put before me, convinced me that it is not always to be truſted.—And many of thoſe perſons who have liquidated their effects, in my knowledge, with a view to emigration, told me, in expreſs terms, they had waited on Mr. Laurens as one of the prudential ſteps neceſſary in their undertaking.—As I have no doubt but their reception was ſuch as Mr. Laurens ſays he gave every man on that buſineſs, I can imagine no reaſon for their attempting to miſlead me, but that they were aſhamed of that reception.

First Letter from Mr. Laurens *to Mr.* King.

Bath, 6th July, 1783.

SIR,

ABOUT noon of the preſent day, it is neceſſary to aſcertain the time, for reaſons which I may have occaſion, hereafter, to diſcloſe. Mr. Bull, a Bookſeller of this city, ſent me your

" Thoughts on the Difficulties and Di-
" ſtreſſes in which the Peace of 1783,
" has involved the People of England;"

the firſt time I had ſeen or heard of them.

I call the publication yours, becauſe your name is affixed to it; and, becauſe your name is ſo affixed, I preſume you are a man of honor, meaning to ſpeak the truth, open to conviction in every inſtance in which you may have deviated thro' miſinformation.——An anonymous ſlanderer would have merited the compliment of contempt.

In your thirty-third page you write,

" The emiſſaries of America are diſper-
" ſed thro' England, Scotland, and Ire-
" land, to inveigle our huſbandmen and
" mechanics; at the head of theſe is,
" the *good*, the *ſimple*, the *undeſigning*

" Mr.

" Mr. Laurens, and he has various
" Subordinates employed in the ſame
" way." &c.

This amounts to a poſitive, and in my feelings, an heinous charge, which it is incumbent upon you to prove when called upon, or to make that ſatisfaction to an injured man, which is conſiſtent with the character I have preſumed you are entitled to: And, as you will certainly be called upon, I give you this timely notice. Had you ſtigmatized me a fool, or a blockhead, I might have acquieſced in preference to diſputing upon a doubtful point; but under a charge of duplicity, hypochriſy, and a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, I cannot ſit ſilent.

I ſhall be in London the latter end of this, or very early in the enſuing month. One of my firſt viſits, Sir, ſhall be to you, in order, with your permiſſion, to lay before you ſuch cogent proofs of my innocence, as, I am perſuaded, will carry conviction to every man of candor, where there is no appearance of proof poſitive, or even ground for ſuſpicion againſt me. Should you be deſtitute, as I am ſure you will be, of ſuch proofs or grounds for confronting my evidence, and be ſatisfied of the " goodneſs," the

" ſimplicity," the " undeſigningneſs" of my whole conduct during my unfortunate reſidence in England, I flatter myſelf you will, without heſitation, immediately make a public reparation of the injury you have done to an inoffenſive man, whom you have arraigned as a culprit at the bar of the public.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your obedient and moſt humble Servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

Should you think it neceſſary to ſend an anſwer, a direction to the care of George Appleby, Eſq. at Shipnel, in Shropſhire, any time within a week, will find me at that place.

John King, Eſquire,
Dean-Street, Soho, No. 53.

Anſwer to Mr. LAURENS's *Firſt Letter.*

SIR,

I Have not inſerted any thing in the publication you allude to, but what I had ſuch grounds for, as warranted the inſertion; nor can I inſult my

my veracity fo much, as to alter an Iota of it, unleſs I am perfectly convinced, that miſconception, or miſinformation, occaſioned any error, I ſhall eſteem myſelf honoured in a viſit from you, and am, with profound reſpect,

&c.

8th July, 1783, JOHN KING.
Dean-Street, Soho.

Second Letter from Mr. Laurens *to Mr.* King.

Bath, 17th Auguſt, 1783.

SIR,

I AM this morning honor'd by receipt of your letter of the 15th. My daughter informs me of a former, which ſhe received in my abſence, and ſent after me to Paris. I have not yet ſeen it.

The method I had propoſed to myſelf for, "convincing you, your opinion reſpecting me in your late publication was ill founded." I would rather ſay without foundation, was, to lay before you my copy book of letters, to have pointed out for your peruſal, anſwers to divers written applications which had been made to me on the ſubject of emigration; to have ſubmitted my co-

pyiſt,

pyiſt, had you required it, to your ſtricteſt reſearches, finally to have appealed to men of undoubted credit and honor, who are well acquainted with my ſentiments, ſome of whom, had heard me refuſe to countenance or encourage perſons who applied for my aid in forwarding them to America.

An honeſt man is never afraid of examination; in my peculiar circumſtances, I would, having been publicly accuſed, prefer even an irregular fair trial to none. To this end I ſent my ſon, the 7th inſt. to apprize you of my return to London, to ſay, with my compliments, I would either wait upon you, or receive your viſit.—He delivered in anſwer, that Mr. King was gone into Scotland, and that he had left my meſſage, and a card.

As I cannot preciſely ſay when I ſhall be in London again, probably not before your intended new edition will come abroad, I ſhall ſubjoin extracts from ſome of the letters alluded to; more would be troubleſome; if theſe do not afford ſatisfaction, the whole would prove inefficacious. I ſhall leave theſe with your candour, without demanding evidence in ſupport of your indictment, aſſuring myſelf, that as a man

man of honor, you will require no prompting to act conſiſtently with your character.

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Charles Niſbett, *of* Montroſe, *in* Scotland.

London, 20th March, 1783.

" It is no part of my miſſion to encourage " people to emigrate from this kingdom, num- " berleſs applications * have been made to me, " but I have uniformly avoided doing or ſay- " ing any thing which might give offence to " this government; I may nevertheleſs obſerve, " that were ſuch a perſon as you have deſcri- " bed, with the addition to his character of in- " duſtry and good morals, to offer his ſervice " to me, I would endeavour *to obtain permiſſion,* " *from proper authority, for taking him with me* " *to America.*"

* Referring to many—but more eſpecially to applications from Wales and Worceſterſhire, to which I had given verbal anſwers, in the negative.

Ex-

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. James Hall, *of* Ayreſhire, Scotland.

Bath, 20th February, 1783.

" I would, with great pleaſure, enter upon the " topic of emigration, could I touch the ſub- " ject with any degree of propriety, but upon " a moment's reflection you will perceive, Sir, " how exceedingly improper my conduct would " be, were I to offer allurements or induce- " ments to the inhabitants of this kingdom to " abandon it. I am here upon tolerance for " the recovery of my health, and eſteem my- " ſelf a gueſt, bound by the niceſt rules of ho- " nor, which I would not infringe for any con- " ſiderations, ſelfiſh or patriotic."

Copy of a Letter to Mr. John Evans, Bala, Merionethſhire.

Bath, 3d July, 1783.

S I R,

" I have before me, your letter, dated 25th " June, which having been round, by way of " London, did not reach me till yeſterday."

" I

" I feel a diſinclination to enter largely upon
" the ſubject of emigration. To encourage
" bodies or communities of ſuch men, as you
" deſcribe, farmers and tradeſmen of property,
" to abandon this kingdom, would be an act
" highly improper on my part, which might
" very juſtly draw down the reſentment of your
" court; nor can I conſent to throw out lures
" for tempting the lower claſs to go to Ameri-
" ca. When individuals apply to me on this
" ſubject, I deliver my ſentiments with candor,
" and leave them to follow their own diſpoſi-
" tions."

&c,

Richard Champion, Eſq. *of* London, *having ſent me a ſmall Pamphlet, the Title, or Motto, of which was,*

" Look before you leap."

which in his Letter incloſing it, he had ſaid was very fooliſh. I writ as follows:

Bath, 5th July, 1783.

" Let not your goodneſs of heart, nor the
" harſhneſs of diſappointment, miſlead you to
" over-rate new objects, either men or country.

" All men are frail, changeable, and changing,
" and every country has its attendant evils.
" Fooliſh as you may think the little pam-
" phlet, the writer has diſplayed ſome truths;
" his alarm to the unwary people of this king-
" dom is meritorious—that ſort of abominable
" traffic had, in former days, been moſt ſhame-
" fully practized. But who were the actors?
" Engliſhmen. Who eſtabliſhed ſlavery and
" monopolized the trade? the King, Lords,
" and Commons, of Great Britain, by their
" acts of parliament. The cenſure and re-
" proach of the whole is *unjuſtly* caſt upon the
" Americans, theſe *now* have it in their power
" to ſhake off the odium; if they ſhall hereaf-
" ter be governed by avarice, let them bear
" the whole, they will deſerve it. Although
" I cannot commend this tool of the old leaven
" for his groſs miſrepreſentation of the United
" States, I am ſo far pleaſed with his warnings,
" as they may tend to ſet people upon enquiry,
" and, as he ſays, to " *Look before they Leap.*"
" I wiſh every man, who entertains a thought
" of removing to the New World as 'tis called,
" to be well informed of all the difficulties
" which he is likely to meet with, that he may
" weigh the ſubject with wiſe deliberation, and
" prepare himſelf for the encounter. Who

" does

" does this will find the country better than he
" had expected."

I do aver upon my honor, that the above written quotations, extracts, and copy, are genuine, both in date and ſubſtance; which I know from having copied the originals in my father's copy book of letters, at the times the ſeveral letters were written.

Henry Laurens, jun.

From the dates of the two laſt recited letters, you will perceive, in a moment, the neceſſity for giving in my former letter the cautionary hint. —" It is neceſſary to aſcertain the time," &c.

Permit me, Sir, to repeat that I had never ſeen nor heard of your pamphlet till Sunday, the 6th July, about noon.

My conduct reſpecting emigration had been uniform and conſiſtent, you will determine whether it had been honorable or otherwiſe; and had your paper never appeared, I ſhould have perſevered in the ſame line, ſcorning to be concern'd

in any traffic or tranſaction of which an honeſt man would be aſhamed.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

John King, Eſquire,
Dean-Street, Soho,
London.

Anſwer to Mr. LAURENS'S *Second Letter.*

SIR,

THE warm but judicious letter you firſt wrote me,—the trouble of coming to London—this ſubſequent letter and the pains you have taken all the way through to correct my opinion, fully evince that public rumour is vague and erroneous, and it muſt be a ſatisfaction to you, that, by the miſtake I committed, an opportunity is given of aſcertaining a matter that has been ſo variouſly and ſo wrongly conceived.—To render you ample juſtice, I ought to publiſh your letters, or thoſe parts of them which may be deemed neceſſary, with ſuch comments as would

con-

conduce to the point I mean to eſtabliſh ;— but this liberty I ſhould not take without your permiſſion, though I could not divulge any circumſtance of what has occurred without doing you infinite honor ;—you will truſt to my diſcretion, for the delicacy I ſhall uſe in managing this matter ;—either give me a ſpecific leave to publiſh the letters, or ſay generally you leave the whole to me.

I have the honor to be,
With equal Eſteem and Reſpect,
Your obedient Servant,
JOHN KING.

22d Auguſt, 1783,
Dean Street, Soho.

COLO-

Third Letter from Mr. Laurens *to Mr.* King.

Bath, 25th Aug. 1783.

SIR,

THIS morning I had the pleasure of receiving your polite letter of the 22d. Your candor does not exceed my prediction. If it were proper and necessary, I could easily demonstrate, that my conduct, when applied to, respecting the exportation of merchandize and gold from this Kingdom to the United States of America, has been equally circumspect as in the case of emigration I hate to appear in print, and it may give umbrage to some of the Gentlemen whose names are mentioned in my late letters, to be held up to the public.—After this intimation, permit me, Sir, to confide in your discretion and delicacy, and so leave the management of the affair, in your intended publication, wholly to yourself.

I am, with very great Respect and Regard,

SIR,

Your obliged humble Servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

John King, Esquire,

London.

Letter

Letter from Colonel FANNING *to Mr.* KING.

No. 219, *Oxford-Street*, 3*d Aug.* 1783.

SIR,

NOTHING was wanting before I saw you, to convince me of your very superiour and distinguished talents and abilities as a writer, and, from the very Gentlemanly manner in which I have been received by you, I have as little to doubt of the candour and publick justice, with which, in future, you may be pleased to mention my name.

I shall not fail embracing the first opportunity of writing to you which shall offer, after my having the happiness of receiving a copy of the next edition of your pamphlet. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Peters, No. 1, Pimlico, is the Gentleman who will undertake to convey me the publication.

I did not receive your letter till this moment, or I should earlier have made my acknowledgements, as well for the honor of your very obliging favour, as for the benevolence of your wishes for my prosperous voyage.

I am, with very sincere Esteem,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

John King, Esq. Edmd. FANNING.

Accoun

Account of Colonel FANNING, *as taken from authentic Vouchers.*

COLONEL EDMUND FANNING was born on Long Iſland, in the Province of New-York. In the ninth year of his age he was, by his father, (who then lived in the city of New York) ſent to a grammar ſchool in Long Iſland, from whence he was ſent to Yale College, in Connecticutt, where, after four years reſidence, he received the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and three years after the degree of Maſter of Arts. From hence he went to Cambridge College, near Boſton, where he alſo received the degree of Maſter of Arts. He was afterwards honored with the like degree at King's College, in New York. Queen's College being founded by a law of the Province in North Carolina, he was unanimouſly elected and appointed Preſident of that College. He has ſince, in 1774, been honored with the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, at the Univerſity of Oxford.—Thus far as to his literary diſtinction.

In the line of Civil Government, in 1758, he was choſen Veſtry-man and Church-warden of the pariſh; a Truſtee and Commiſſioner of the incorporated town of Hillſborough, and one of the (two) repreſentatives for the county of Orange, in the General Aſſembly of North Carolina. In 1759, he was appointed, by Governor Dobbs, Regiſter of the County of Orange. —In 1762, he received a licence as a Lawyer, and in 1765, he was appointed, by Governor Tryon, one of the Judges of the Superior Courts in that province.—In 1771, he was appointed Secretary to Governor Tryon, and Surrogate of the province of New-York.—And in 1774, he was appointed, by Commiſſion under the Royal Sign Manual, Surveyor General of his Majeſty's lands in the province of New York, an appointment, *Communibus Annis*, worth at leaſt 1500l. ſterling ℔ *Annum*.—He has been honored with ſeveral other offices and diſtinctions in the civil line.

In 1759, the Indians making incurſions upon the frontiers of North Carolina, the Militia of Orange County were embodied, and the command of them given to him by Governor Dobbs, with the rank of Colonel.—In running the boundary line, in 1766, between the Cherokee

nation and the Inhabitants of North Carolina, he was employed with the troops on that ſervice with the rank of Colonel, and received pay as ſuch.—In 1768, he raiſed a body of eight hundred provincials to oppoſe the threatened attempts of a body of inſurgents to ſtop the Courts of Juſtice, and prevent the trial of ſome of their principals, who had been apprehended, and bound over to take their trial. This ſervice being performed, the corps were paid off and diſbanded.—He this year received, perſonally, from Governor Tryon, in council, publick thanks for his ſpirited conduct and behaviour in ſupport of the civil government of the province, and was requeſted to deliver the ſame to the officers and men who acted under his command.

In 1771, he again embodied a corps of provincials, and on the 16th of May commanded the left wing in the firſt line of the battle of Allamance; in which action the inſurgents, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, were totally routed and diſperſed. The corps ſometime after were paid off, and diſchraged. During this ſervice Col. F. received the particular thanks of Governor Tryon for his diſtinguiſhed exertions, and gallant conduct on ſeveral occaſions.—In 1776, he received a warrant from Sir William Howe,

Howe, to raiſe a regiment, which was to conſiſt of ten companies of ſixty men each, officers included, who were to "engage to carry arms "under the orders of the Commander in Chief, "for the time being, for two years, or, if re- "quired, during the rebellion in North Ameri- "ca, to receive the ſame pay, and to be under "the ſame diſcipline as his Majeſty's regular "troops."—Col. F. having received his commiſſion from the Commander in Chief, and the regiment being raiſed without any local limitation of ſervice, and the word province, or provincial, not being mentioned in either his Warrant or Commiſſion, he then thought he ſhould, and ſtill thinks he ought to, have had Britiſh rank, and to have roſe in the army, and to have had the emoluments of his rank accordingly from that date.—Col. F. does not deſire to leſſen the fair pretenſions of any Gentleman;—but he deſires any perſon who has raiſed a corps in America, (he does not mean to except the 84th or any other regiment raiſed there) to ſhew ſuch full, clear, and ample beating orders as his are, to entitle them to be placed on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment.—Col. F. does not ſay this with a view to injure any perſon.—He envies no man his good fortune;—at the ſame time he wiſhes it to be known, that he is incapable of any thing ſo

mean, or ſo ſelfiſh, as to entertain the moſt diſtant wiſh to that eſteem of the public, or favor of his Sovereign, to which he has not the faireſt and moſt indiſputable claim.—He is, therefore, infinitely hurt and concerned, that thoſe humble inſtances with which he has had the honor to be noticed by his Majeſty and his Miniſters, ſhould have given occaſion to any perſon to have held him up to public view, as having obtained unmerited favor.

Col. F. has been on ſervice with his regiment from Rhode Iſland to South Carolina.—And how he has behaved as a Gentleman, and an Officer, he dares to truſt to the report of the ſeveral General Officers under whoſe immediate command the regiment, with himſelf, have had the honor to ſerve.

Col. F.'s fortune before the war, was not relatively ſmall, but great, when compared with moſt others.—His rank and office in the country where he lived were not humble. As an officer of civil government he might, in imitation of others, have come to England at the beginning of the American diſturbances, and enjoyed a a penſion or annuity, if he had not thought it more conſiſtent with his duty and his reputation

to

to have remained in America to aſſiſt, by his influence, and every exertion in his power, at the hazard of his life and fortune, in maintaining the ſovereignty of this country over the Revolted Colonies.—In the proſecution of this line of conduct he has ſuffered much ; but under the moſt difficult and trying circumſtances, he has ever preferred the faithful and zealous diſcharge of his duty to his King and Country to every conſideration of private intereſt, perſonal eaſe, or even hazard of life.—If Col. F. had been born in this country, and had raiſed the ſame regiment here, and under the ſame beating orders, which he has done in America, he would have had rank in the army from the year 1776.—He would have roſe in rank from that time.—And he would have had the off-reconings and emoluments of his regiment as Colonel, as well as received his additional pay and ſubſiſtance, as he roſe in the army from that period.—This is not all; for if it had been Col. F.'s good fortune to have been born and lived in this country, the war being now over, he could have returned in ſafety to his family and friends in his native land. He would have enjoyed the profits of his fortune during the war; and at the end of his active military ſervices he could, without interruption, have taken poſſeſſion of his eſtate.—

On

On the contrary, Col. F. has been entirely deprived both of the poſſeſſions and profits of his fortune during the war, and at the cloſe of it, he has the mortification to find his whole eſtate confiſcated, his perſon attainted, and himſelf exiled from his connections, and native country, by an act of perpetual baniſhment.

Col. F. raiſed his regiment at very great expence to himſelf.—He has commanded it through the war with reputation and ſucceſs. He has had no promotion.—He has had no money making command.—He has never received from government any ſalary for his Office or Surveyor General;—or any annuity, or allowance, from government, as an American ſufferer; or on any other account whatever in his whole life.—He has loſt his whole eſtate by the events of the late unhappy war, and is now ordered abroad in a publick and expenſive ſtation to reſide in a new country, in a cold and inhoſpitable climate, where he has neither houſe or property, with a ſalary not equal to one third part of the profits of the Office which he held under government at the commencement of the American controverſy.—Under this comparative view of his former ſituation, with his preſent circumſtances, he flatters himſelf that

every

every candid and impartial individual will be ready to admit that what has been done for him, are no more than, late and partial, acts of public juſtice, to which, from the magnitude of his loſſes and ſufferings, as well as the length and merit of his faithful ſervices, he has the moſt equitable and honorable pretenſions.

The beſt atonement I could make for the error I had committed, reſpecting Colonel Fanning, was to give a true and impartial hiſtory of his life, which forms the higheſt panegyrick on his character, and demonſtrates the ingratitude of Government.

JOHN KING.

22nd Dec. 1783,
Dean-Street, Soho.

F I N I S.

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